DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 392 678 SO 023 694

AUTHOR	Stern, Susan
TITLE	The Structure of Cultural Life in Germany. Basis-Info: Cultural Life.
REPORT NO	ISSN-0171-872X
PUB DATE	Aug 95
NOTE	31p.
AVAILABLE FROM	Inter Nationes, Kennedyalle 91-103, D-53175 Bonn, Germany.
PUB TYPE	Information Analyses (070)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Arts Centers; Community Resources; *Cultural Activities; *Cultural Centers; *Cultural Education; *Cultural Enrichment; Culture; Exhibits; Foreign Countries; German Literature; Higher Education; Literature; Material Culture; Museums; Theater Arts; Theaters
IDENTIFIERS	Germany

ABSTRACT

This paper explains how cultural life in Germany is shared through public funding and support. Since culture is commonly accepted by Germans to be vital to the psychic health of the nation, public funding of culture is not a controversial issue. The expression "cultural federalism" is frequently used to describe the way in which responsibility for cultural affairs is divided and shared between the various organs of the state. Through such fund-raisers as taxes, state-organized lotteries and license fees, each person in the country makes a substantial contribution to the annual cultural budget. The table of contents lists the following: (1) "Introduction"; (2) "The Notion of 'Cultural Life'"; (3) "The Culture Industry"; (4) "The Concept of Federalism in Germany"; (5) "Cultural Federalism in Germany"; (6) "The Tiers of Responsibility"; (7) "Cultural Rebuilding"; (8) "Cultural Competition"; (9) "Private Cultural Promotion"; (10) "Theater and Music"; (11) "The Visual Arts and Architecture"; (12) "Literature and Libraries"; (13) "Museums"; (14) "Film"; (15) "Broadcasting"; (16) "Monuments and Sites"; and (17) "Sources." (EH)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED 392 678

INTER NATIONES

BASIS-INFO 15 - 1995 IN-PRESS

Cultural life

THE STRUCTURE OF CULTURAL LIFE IN GERMANY

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)
X This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.
• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

by

Susan Stern

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
K. Stahl
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

SO 025 694

Code No. 750 Q 4316

Inter Nationes
Kennedyallee 91-103
D-53175 Bonn
Telefon: 02 28 / 88 00
Telex: 8 869 894 ind

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Veröffentlichung frei - Belege erbeten
Free of charge - reprints requested
Publication libre - Prière d'envoyer des exemplaires justificatifs
Publicación libre - se agradecen comprobantes

IN Visitors' Information/Editorial Dept.
Editor: Dr. Gisela Libal
(August 1995)

Contents

	page
Introduction	1
The notion "cultural life"	1
The Culture Industry	3
The concept of federalism in Germany	3
Cultural federalism in Germany	5
The Tiers of Responsibility	6
Cultural rebuilding	10
Cultural Competition	11
Private Cultural Promotion	14
Theater and Music	15
The Visual Arts and Architecture	18
Literature and Libraries	19
Museums	20
Film	21
Broadcasting	22
Monuments and Sites	23
Sources	26

The Structure of Cultural Life in Germany

Cultural life in Germany is rich, varied, independent, competitive - and financed to a very high degree out of public coffers. Through such fund-raisers as taxes, state-organized lotteries and license fees, each person in the country makes a substantial contribution to the annual cultural budget. Public broadcasting alone costs each user household a direct fee of almost DM 300 a year. The public funding of culture is not a controversial issue, however, since culture is commonly accepted to be vital to the psychic health of the nation, and thus a worthy cause for public support. The federal system that characterizes the structure and government of the country underlies the organization of its cultural life - indeed, the expression „cultural federalism" is frequently used to describe the way in which responsibility for cultural affairs is divided and shared between the various organs of the state.

The notion „cultural life"

What do we mean when we talk about the cultural life of a country? Culture is an all-encompassing term, embracing everything from so-called „high" culture (music, the arts, etc.) to what a nation drinks as its favorite morning beverage. Culture covers the established classics to the latest in pop, be it in music, architecture, theater or design. Culture can be an event enacted in a grand opera house, in a tent or in the privacy of one's home; it can cost a fortune or a few pennies. Culture can cover education in the widest or narrowest sense. It can be synonymous with history as a whole or refer more specifically to the upkeep of the monuments and artifacts which bear witness to the past. Culture can be created by an elite or by the masses and designed for either. It can be a refined art form, or it can be the everyday customs of a group - indeed, it can simply be a collection of shared ideas or the very language which we use to communicate our thoughts. In other words, our cultural life includes a great many aspects of our existence.

The scope of the notion „cultural life" is very much dependent on context, however, and once we know that context, we can limit our interpretation. In Germany, as in many other western countries, whenever „cultural life" is not otherwise qualified, it is an expression most commonly used to refer to the more creative and intellectual activities and pursuits of the society, as well as to the institutions and objects which represent the heritage of the country. It is understood to encompass the spectrum of fine arts, those arts which challenge and stimulate the mind. Convention has it (especially in Germany) that culture is in some way enlightening and informative rather than purely entertaining. It is at this point that the notion becomes rather vague, because the line between that which is considered serious or mind-improving (culture) and that which is purely frivolous (entertainment) is a fine one indeed. Nevertheless, in the area of film, for example, a distinction is made between „art" and „commercial" films. A musical (as opposed to an operetta) used to be put down as mere entertainment, but is increasingly becoming accepted as a form of (light) culture. A cabaret may be included on either side of the line. And so on.

Brücke-Museum in Berlin Acquires Kirchner Work

The painting „Artistin: Marcella" is now part of the Kirchner collection of the Brücke-Museum in Berlin. The purchase of the privately-owned 1910 masterpiece for DM 5 million was made possible through the support of the foundation Deutsche Klassenlotterie Berlin. The 15 paintings of Ernst Ludwig Kirchner in the museum's possession include nude portraits and a Berlin street scene. Marcella was the name of one of the young girls who posed for the expressionist painter during the time he was working in Dresden. In her yellow-black jumper, she was also painted by Erich Hackel and Max Pechstein. *dpa*

One way to decide what falls within cultural life in Germany is to determine whether a particular activity or institution is eligible (however theoretically) for some form of support from a public cultural budget. Leaving aside state-supported education (and in Germany this comprehensive system includes everything from basic schooling to vocational training, from adult education to higher education in multi-discipline colleges and universities as well as in

specialized academies for the arts), we can broadly group cultural activities into the following areas:

- the performing arts
- music and festivals
- the visual arts (including architecture and design)
- literature and libraries
- museums
- film and broadcasting
- monuments and sites

The Culture Industry

A considerable amount of public money is invested in culture, as we shall see; but culture must also be considered as a major private industry in itself, and public subsidies are not evenly distributed. Music, for example, is a multi-billion mark business and the subsidies that go to musical events make up only a small percentage of the domestic turnover in the sector as a whole. Literature receives a certain amount of public support in various forms, but books belong first and foremost to the private sector, and while book prices in Germany (and in all German-speaking countries) are regulated by law, the book market is a highly profitable commercial enterprise. Art objects are not all owned by and displayed in public museums; they are also privately owned, shown in private exhibitions and galleries and bought and sold on the open market.

Thus, while this brochure on the structure of cultural life in Germany is primarily concerned with the role of the state in supporting and promoting culture, and to some extent with the role of the private sector in doing the same, it should not be forgotten that some branches of culture generate enormous sums of money and to a varying extent promote themselves. The Centre for Cultural Research (*Zentrum für Kulturforschung*) in Bonn estimates the 1990 turnover in the culture industry at between DM 40 billion and DM 45 billion; these figures dwarf all other public and private contributions to the financing of culture.

The concept of federalism in Germany

To understand where responsibility lies for cultural life in Germany, it is useful to understand something about the German system of government. Germany is a

federal republic, in which power and authority is shared between the *Bund* (central power or Federation), the *Länder* (the 16 federal states) and to some extent the local communities. This highly decentralized structure has a long tradition. During the Middle Ages, the German Empire kept expanding and shrinking as various parts of it were won and lost, and what came to be so impressively called the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation was in fact no more than a loose conglomeration of separate feudal entities. When Germany became a unified nation for the first time in its history in 1871, the new German Empire was proclaimed a federal state, and it remained so even after the abolition of the monarchy in 1919. And when the western part of Germany got back on its feet after 1945, it was on federal principles, a country made up of 11 *Länder*, each with its own separate government and head of state (minister-president). This arrangement exists to thisday, albeit with the addition in 1990 of the five „new" (reconstituted) *Länder* of what had been for four decades the decidedly non-federal German Democratic Republic.

Barlach Treasures Back in Güstrow

The valuable creations of the sculptor Ernst Barlach (1870-1938) from the collection of his lifetime companion Marga Böhmer are once again in Güstrow. The purchase of the works of art, soon to be shown in an exhibition, was made possible through generous donations. The 60 objects making up the collection include 20 sculptures, as well as drawings, prints and sketches. The sculptures had been on display in the Güstrow Gertrudenkapelle form 1953 until unification, at which time they were returned to their legal owner, Odo Bruhns. At first, the Barlach foundation was unable to come up with the DM 1,2 million for the intact collection. The auctioning off the individual pieces in Cologne was averted through widespread public discussion. dpa

Thus, throughout the centuries, Germany has remained a collection of more or less independent entities, each with its own well-developed culture and center, and very often with a strong sense of rivalry.

Today, sovereignity is vested in the Federation and the *Länder* have no right

to secede; nonetheless, the division of power guaranteed by the constitution (Basic Law) perpetuates a strong feeling of local identity among the different regions. This is true even though most of the present Länder were newly created after 1945, and divided up in such a way that they rarely coincide with any historically homogeneous area. In some cases, a number of regions were simply forged together for administrative purposes. However, since decentralization in the federal system filters down to the municipalities, the cities and communities too have a considerable say in their own government, and it is above all these municipal entities which have preserved their feeling for tradition. While the provincial capitals of old may have lost their wealthy potentates, they retain much of their intellectual heritage and take fierce pride in their cultural life. And newer cities, those that came into their own in the 19th and 20th centuries, refuse to be culturally outshadowed. The result is healthy civic competition.

Cultural federalism in Germany

With this historical and political background in mind, it is easier to understand the notion of cultural federalism as it exists in Germany today. It is based on the constitutional principle of division of power, whereby the Federation has relatively little authority and responsibility in the regulation, administration and financing of culture, and the *Länder* (and municipalities) have a great deal. Culture, in other words, lies primarily within the competence of the *Länder*, which are said to have „cultural sovereignity" (*Kulturhoheit*). However, and this must immediately be made clear, the notion of cultural sovereignity does not imply that the *Länder*, or any other public body or institution, have the right to dictate culture or infringe on creative freedom. Indeed, artistic freedom is guaranteed by the Basic Law and often, when there is a perceived infringement, the matter ends up in court. What *Kulturhoheit* means in practical terms is the responsibility for ensuring a broad

spectrum of cultural activities. The *Länder* hold the cultural reins, so to speak. However, to the extent that the cities and communities also play a major role as cultural promoters and are, moreover, responsible for the lion's share of the public cultural budget, they have their own considerable measure of cultural autonomy.

One fact emerges clearly from the previous paragraph: the great importance of the public sector (Federation, *Länder* and municipalities) in cultural affairs. Indeed, the promotion and financing of culture in Germany is essentially a public as opposed to a private matter. Cultural freedom does not simply mean that the state is prohibited from interfering in the creation of art; it has been further interpreted by the constitutional court (*Bundesverfassungsgericht*) to mean that the state has a duty to preserve and encourage artistic life. As a result, public patronage of the arts is spread extremely wide and when the economy is healthy and public money is relatively plentiful, it is not ungenerous. In 1991, total public spending on culture amounted to DM 12.6 billion (an average of DM 158 per capita), whereas the contribution of the private sector amounted to „only" about DM 350 million and the non-remunerated cultural contribution (honorary and volunteer work) was valued at roughly DM 420 million. Of the DM 12.6 billion of public money spent on culture, over half was paid out by the communities and approximately one third by the *Länder*.

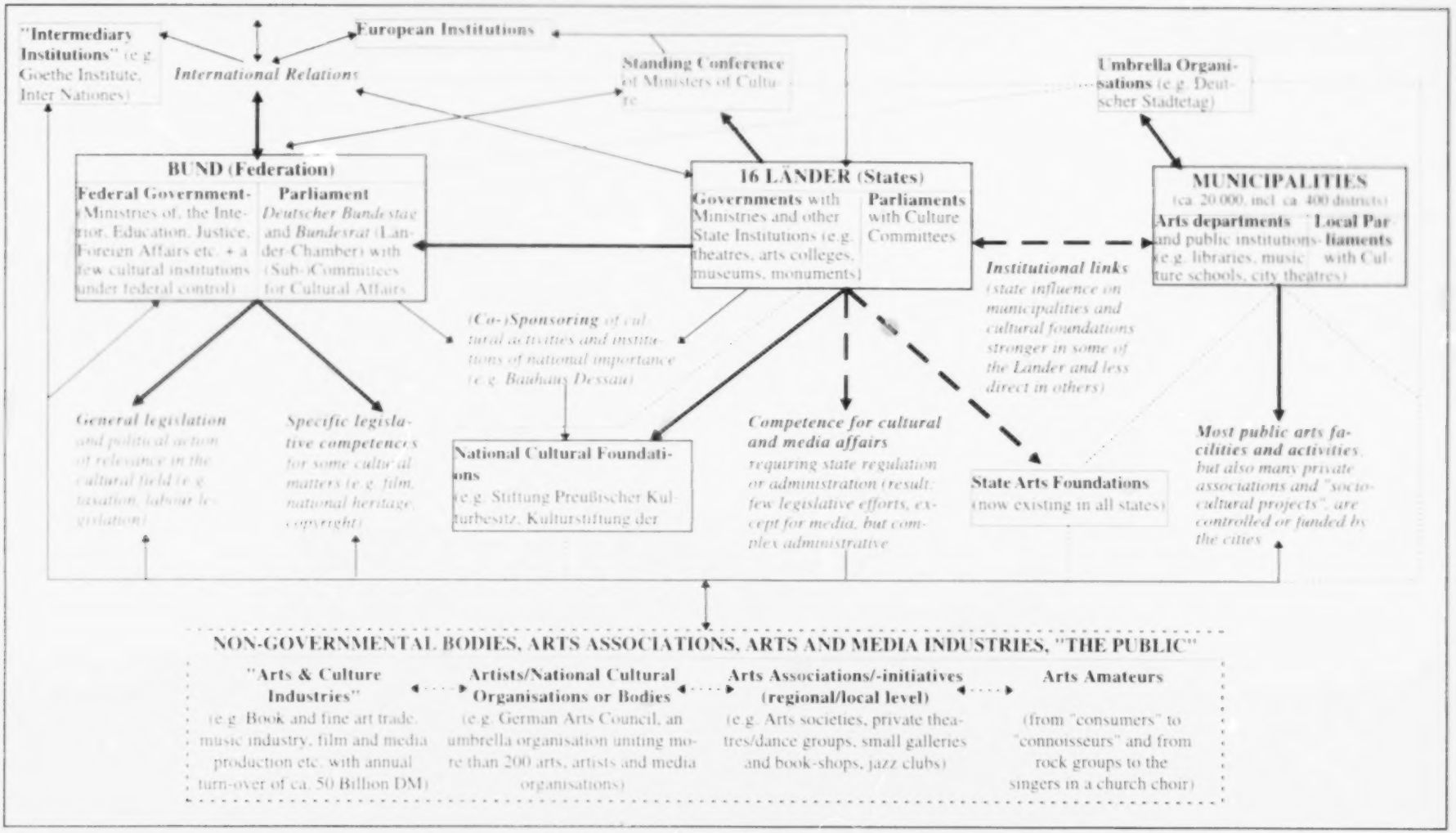
Where all the money goes will be discussed further on. The point here is that the promotion and financing of culture is to a great extent in the hands of public authorities, and these work on different levels, sometimes separately but very often cooperatively (hence the often-used expression „cooperative" cultural federalism), to further the cultural interests of the country.

The Tiers of Responsibility

On the Federation level, the central government is involved in cultural matters which are primarily in the national interest (as opposed to the interest of the individual *Länder*). A number of federal ministries contribute in one way or another to cultural life, sometimes assuming the whole share of a particular task, sometimes working jointly with the *Länder*. The Ministry of the Interior

Co-operation, Competition and the "Balance of Power" in German Cultural Affairs

Relations between the Federation, the Länder, Municipalities and Non-official Bodies


"Intermediary Institutions" (e.g. Goethe Institute, Inter Nationes)
International Relations
European Institutions
Standing Conference of Ministers of Culture
Umbrella Organisations (e.g. Deutscher Stadtetag)
BUND (Federation)
Federal Government- Ministries of, the Interior, Education, Justice, Foreign Affairs etc. + a few cultural institutions under federal control)
Parliament
Deutscher Bundestag and Bundesrat (Länder-Chamber) with (Sub-)Committees for Cultural Affairs
16 LÄNDER (States)
Governments with Ministries and other State Institutions (e.g. theatres, arts colleges, museums, monuments)
Parliaments with Culture Committees
MUNICIPALITIES
(ca. 20.000, incl. ca. 400 districts)
Arts departments and public institutions (e.g. libraries, music schools, city theatres)
Local Parliaments with Culture
Institutional links (state influence on municipalities and cultural foundations stronger in some of the Länder and less direct in others)
(Co-)Sponsoring of cultural activities and institutions of national importance (e.g. Bauhaus Dessau)
General legislation and political action of relevance in the cultural field (e.g. taxation, labour legislation)
Specific legislative competences for some cultural matters (e.g. film, national heritage, copyright)
National Cultural Foundations (e.g. Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Kulturstiftung der
Competence for cultural and media affairs requiring state regulation or administration (result: few legislative efforts, except for media, but complex administrative
State Arts Foundations (now existing in all states)
Most public arts facilities and activities, but also many private associations and "socio-cultural projects", are controlled or funded by the cities
NON-GOVERNMENTAL BODIES, ARTS ASSOCIATIONS, ARTS AND MEDIA INDUSTRIES, "THE PUBLIC"
"Arts & Culture Industries" (e.g. Book and fine art trade, music industry, film and media production etc. with annual turn-over of ca. 50 Billion DM)
Artists/National Cultural Organisations or Bodies (e.g. German Arts Council, an umbrella organisation uniting more than 200 arts, artists and media organisations)
Arts Associations/-initiatives (regional/local level) (e.g. Arts societies, private theatres/dance groups, small galleries and book-shops, jazz clubs)
Arts Amateurs (from "consumers" to "connoisseurs" and from rock groups to the singers in a church choir)

Legend:

- Institutional links/Legal competences
- Generally as above, but differences between the Länder
- Influence (via regular financing, co-operation or political supervision)
- Contacts and/or support (mainly for projects/specific tasks)

ZfKf 1994

Source: Zentrum für Kulturforschung, Bonn, 1994

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

supports national cultural foundations and organizations, festivals and national cultural funds, is partly responsible for the preservation of national monuments (national heritage) and for the upkeep of collections of cultural objects deemed to be of national significance (for example, the German Library in Frankfurt and the *Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz* in Berlin). It pays for the German Academy Villa Massimo in Rome (where writers and artists are invited to work for a few months), and is in charge of cultural film promotion.

Culture plays an important role in German foreign policy, which aims at giving the rest of the world a comprehensive impression of Germany's spiritual and intellectual values and of its artistic achievements, and in promoting a „cultural dialogue" with partner countries. Germany has cultural agreements with well over 60 countries, and these activities come under the auspices of the Foreign Office. Among the so-called intermediary organizations charged with disseminating cultural information abroad are the Goethe Institute, whose main task it is to cultivate the German language and promote international cultural cooperation; the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD), which arranges exchanges of academic staff and students; Inter Nationes, which hosts foreign guests of the German government and provides a wide range of information on the country through films, tapes and printed material; the Institute for Foreign Relations, which organizes German exhibitions abroad and foreign exhibitions in Germany; the German UNESCO Commission, which encourages cultural and academic exchange of experience and is involved, for example, in the planning of school books.

Other federal ministries which are involved in various aspects of culture include the Ministry of Labor, which regulates the social and professional security (social welfare) of those involved in creative pursuits; the Ministry of Justice, which is responsible for questions of copyright and patents; the Ministry of Economics, which is active in commercial film promotion and questions related to the book market (price fixing, for example); the Ministry of Finance, which regulates taxation; and the Ministry of Education and Science, which is concerned in the training of personnel in artistic professions.

The German Arts Council **(Deutscher Kulturrat)**

This non-governmental, non-partisan body is an umbrella organization which serves as a mouthpiece for around 200 cultural associations and institutions representing altogether over nine million individual members. Founded in 1982, the Deutscher Kulturrat *comprises eight sections, themselves independent umbrella organizations: the German Music Council, the Council for the Performing Arts, the Literature Association, the Fine Arts Council, the Architectural Council, the Design Section, the Film and Audiovisual Section, the Sociocultural Council. The function of the* Deutscher Kulturrat *is to coordinate, advise and inform - to act as a „round table" in all matters concerning cultural affairs. Since it complements the public bodies of the Federation,* Länder *and municipalities, it sees itself as the „fourth pillar" of supra-regional cultural politics.*

One of the tasks of the Deutscher Kulturrat *is to draft position papers and recommendations on cultural policy matters. High on a priority list of concerns is the need for a more „culture-friendly" taxation policy to encourage more private involvement on the part of industry and individuals. Other items on the current priority list include cultural policy developments in the new* Länder, *media policy, and problems associated with the European internal market.*

Cultural rebuilding

For all that the Federation performs an important function, its overall role in cultural matters and its share of the cost burden, which hovers at about 5%, are still very limited. Nevertheless, in the immediate wake of unification, the Federation contributed substantially to the cultural rebuilding of the new *Länder*, which were left by the German Democratic Republic in a catastrophic state. This extra-ordinary contribution of the Federation was agreed in the German Unification Contract (*Deutscher Einigungsvertrag*) which laid out the ground rules for the fusion. Between 1991 and 1993, the Federation made available around DM 3.5 billion for cultural institutions, projects and infrastructures of national significance. This extra investment has in the meantime been drastically reduced.

As already mentioned, *Kulturhoheit* belongs to the *Länder*, in which primary responsibility for the administration and regulation of cultural matters is constitutionally vested. To this end, each of the *Länder* (including the three city-states, Berlin, Hamburg and Bremen) have a department - a ministry, or in the case of the citystates, a senate or authority - in charge of cultural affairs. These departments are headed by a minister or a senator. There is a certain amount of coordination among the *Länder*, channeled mainly through the secretariat and various committees of the Permanent Conference of Cultural Ministers of the *Länder (Ständige Konferenz der Kultusminister der Länder - KMK)*. In 1984, a Cultural Foundation of the *Länder (Kulturstiftung der Länder)* was established, and the Federation was invited to join. The purpose of this body is to take care of cultural challenges or burdens which neither the individual *Länder* nor the Federation can be expected to take on alone, such as the purchasing of costly objects of national cultural value. The Länder also share responsibility for supra-regional cultural institutions and foundations including the German Library Institute (Berlin), the German Academy for Language and Poetry (Darmstadt), and the *Kuratorium Junger Deutscher Film* (Wiesbaden). The *Länder* take part in the planning of international cultural agreements (see above).

A foundation which deserves special mention is the *Stiftung Kulturfonds*.

Legal successor to the East German cultural fund, the *Stiftung* „inherited" the assets of the fund and has been charged with promoting and financing cultural life in the new *Länder*. In 1991 and 1992, the Federation also contributed to the funds of the foundation. The *Stiftung* is not supposed to be a permanent institution; eventually its assets may be transfered to the Cultural Foundation of the *Länder*.

Within its home territory, each individual *Land* supports and finances its own cultural facilities, which include state theaters and orchestras, museums, libraries, monuments and sites, and is responsible for media affairs. Since the *Länder* are responsible for education in general in Germany, they automatically support (at school, training colleges and institutions of higher learning) all those who are destined for a career in the cultural arena. Specifically, they are in charge of academies or colleges in the fields of music, visual arts and film. The *Länder* formulate or implement policies for the promotion of the arts and literature. They also support the state arts foundations.

Cultural Competition

While the *Länder* may vie with each other in the scope and quality of their cultural offerings, the fiercest competition, as has already been indicated, is between the municipalities. Each city - and not only the major ones or even just the very old ones - takes enormous pride in its cultural life and what it can offer, each one wants to boast its own orchestra or opera house, its own theaters, museums and galleries. Each one wants to entice the best talent, not just the artists and performers, but also the *Intendanten*, the creative directors or general managers of the theaters and opera houses, on whose shoulders much of the cultural reputation of the city falls. Most of the larger communities have their own department in charge of cultural affairs, led by a *Kulturdezernent*, an individual with considerable autonomy and potential for adding to the cultural profile of the city.

Culture in Frankfurt am Main

Given the extreme decentralization of culture in Germany, and the consequent diversity, it is not possible to take any one city or community as an example for all of the others. As a result of the history and development of each place, each organizes its cultural affairs in its own way, each has its own cultural structure which is financed and administered according to an individual model. Whereas a city such as Munich, state capital of Bavaria and traditionally richly endowed by the ruling dynasty that resided there, receives 55% of its cultural budget from the Land *and only 35% from the city, Frankfurt am Main (a banking city which has never been the capital of Hesse or home to royal patrons) finances 95% of its own cultural budget, receives only 5% from the Land and almost nothing from the Federation. In 1990, Frankfurt allotted 11% of its overall budget to cultural affairs; in 1995, this percentage dropped to 9.3%, a cutback combined with an across-the-board stringency program which has caused pessimists to predict the imminent demise of the city as a major cultural center. Most city-supported cultural institutions, from the opera and the theaters to the many museums (Frankfurt has about 20), have their own private fund-raising „friends and promoters" organizations which are being encouraged to donate generously in these times of need. The fact remains, however, that while the opera wails about its financial problems and appeals for private donations to see it through the year, it is receiving almost DM 70 million in public money in 1995, a considerable increase over the previous years.*

Even rival cities experience the need to cooperate on a political level, and common interests are represented in the main by an umbrella organization called the German Federation of Cities *(Deutscher Städtetag)*, which offers advice, publications, committees of experts, and generally plays a coordinating role in municipal cultural affairs. Other organizations which represent common interests of communities include the *Deutschen Städte- und Gemeindebund* and the *Deutschen Landtagskreistag*.

As a result of municipal cultural pride and the relatively large sums of Land and municipal money available for *Kunst und*

A Model Cooperation

The Land *of North Rhine-Westphalia (NRW) is the most populous in the Federal Republic and contains the densely settled industrial heartland of Germany, the Ruhr district. It is a* Land *with exceptionally many sizeable cities, including the million-metropolis Cologne, the state capital Düsseldorf, Essen, Dortmund and much smaller Bonn, until unification the capital of West Germany. In 1974, an organization called the Office for Joint Cultural Activities in North Rhine-Westphalia* (Sekretariat für gemeinsame Kulturarbeit in Nordrhein-Westfalen) *came into being. Its purpose was (and still is) to plan and coordinate cultural activities among participating urban centers - now 25 in all - and to represent the interests of these member cities in the appropriate ministries and bodies on the* Land *level. The individual cities remain in cultural competition with each other, but appreciate that getting together at times can make possible more ambitious projects which could not otherwise have been realized. While the NRW Culture Office (as it is known) is a unique institution in terms of the scope of its activities and the number of cities under its wing, there have been attempts in other* Länder *to encourage similar cooperation.*

Kulturpflege - art and the cultivation of culture - high-quality cultural activities and facilities are spread throughout the country. This distinguishes Germany from centralized countries such as Britain or France, where the most prestigeous cultural activities are concentrated in London and Paris and culture elsewhere has a touch of the provincial about it. Berlin, for all that it is the German capital and by far the largest German city, could never have a similar cultural monopoly, despite the undisputed richness of its cultural treasures and offerings, since it will always face fierce and worthy competition from other cities and even smaller towns throughout the country.

Private Cultural Promotion

No matter how much money the state puts into cultural projects and endeavors, it can never be enough; more money is always needed. Private support of culture and the arts, and in particular sponsorship, has nevertheless been controversial in Germany, since there are those who believe that it endangers the independence and integrity of cultural artisans, especially wherever a company name is attached for publicity reasons. However, such considerations have increasingly taken a backseat to expediency in recent years, and growing public sector cutbacks in cultural funding have made private contributions in whatever form far more palatable to erstwhile opponents. These private initiatives are in no way intended to replace public support (nor could they, since they amount to only a fraction of the public subsidies; see above); they are complementary, and designed to supplement and fill gaps in the public funding system.

The Arts Circle of the Federation of German Industries *(Kulturkreis der deutschen Wirtschaft im Bundesverband der deutschen Industrie)* is an organization in the forefront of private cultural promotion. Founded in 1951, the BDI Arts Circle (as it is known) is made up of corporations, banks, insurance companies, small and medium-sized businesses and individuals; together, they collect and raise money (around DM 1.3 million annually) which goes primarily to promote young artists through scholarships, awards, grants and exhibitions. Over the years, the BDI Arts Circle has taken many initiatives to encourage the vitality of cultural

activities; two recent drives have been to encourage cooperation between private and public foundations (of which there are about 1000) engaged in the promotion of art and culture and to create a common platform for cultural interaction (called *Arbeitskreis Kultur*) between the Federation, the *Länder*, municipalities, foundations and industry.

Theater and Music

Germany has a long theater and opera tradition which dates back to the 18th century and beyond, when many of the small sovereign states - kingdoms, dukedoms and free cities - considered their theaters to be jewels in their various crowns. When the sovereign states disappeared, the upkeep and financing of these showcase theaters passed to the public sector. Today, theater is primarily in the hands of the *Länder* and the municipalities.

Throughout the centuries, the Germans have been avid theater and concert-goers, and to the present, performances of all kinds (plays, operas and operettas, concerts, musicals and ballets) are extremely well attended. Around 31 million people went to theater productions and festivals in 1992/93. Given the size of its population (81 million), Germany has more theaters than any other country in Europe and probably in the world. In 1992/93, there were 158 public theater companies (including opera companies) performing on 462 stages, 31 festival companies as well as 176 private theater companies, almost all of these latter subsidized to some extent. Berlin alone boasts 35 theaters (12 public and 23 private, whereby in 1992/93, the public theaters welcomed three times more theater-goers - almost 2.5 million - than the smaller private establishments).

Theater is a very large item in the cultural budget of the responsible public authority; it commonly receives between a third and a half of the whole. In 1990 - 91, the overall public contribution was almost DM 2.9 billion, while less than DM 500 million could be added as earned income, through the sales of tickets, guest performances, etc. Private donations and sponsorship came to less than 1% of the amount provided in public support. These figures clearly show to what extent each theater ticket is subsidized (over DM 100 on average), and why full houses cannot

make up for significant cuts in the amount of available public money.

Taken together, in 1991, theater and music received 36% of the net public outlay for culture, a sum of DM 4.5 billion.

Germany is known for the quality and diversity of its music, and it is exceptionally rich in opera houses and concert halls, of which there are almost 100 spread throughout the country. Germany boasts 159 symphony orchestras, consisting of independent concert orchestras, theater orchestras and radio symphony orchestras. There are also nine publicly-funded chamber orchestras, and around 50 private chamber orchestras made up of musicians from the symphony orchestras as well as freelancers, who support themselves through their performances and income from broadcasting and recordings. In addition, there are countless music ensembles playing everything from chamber to contemporary music, amateur music groups, church and lay choirs and music associations.

The German Music Council *(Deutscher Musikrat)*, one of the sections of the German Arts Council mentioned above, is funded by the Federation to further music in German society, and in particular, to encourage young musicians through such programs as „Youth Makes Music" *(Jugend musiziert)*, the National Youth Orchestra and the National Jazz Orchestra, and by holding competitions and awarding prizes.

The Schleswig-Holstein Music Festival

Germany is a country of festivals, musical and theatrical events which are held at regular intervals, often annually and mainly during the summer, throughout the country. Some festivals take place in the larger cities - the Jazz Festival in Berlin, the European Music Festival in Stuttgart, the Frankfurt Festival in Frankfurt am Main - but many are in smaller cities (Heidelberg, Weimar, Würzburg) and in towns which have become famous for a particular event: Bayreuth is known throughout the world for its Richard Wagner Festival, for example. One festival which is relatively young is the Schleswig-Holstein Music Festival, founded in 1986. What makes it special is the fact that the eight-week happening takes place in 35 different places throughout the Land. *Designed to provide high-standard classical music to the widest possible audience, and in particular, to encourage young musicians, the festival costs approximately DM 15 million. Of this, 30% is provided by the* Land *of Schleswig-Holstein, 30% comes from private sponsors, another 30% is covered by the income from ticket sales, and 10% comes from the selling of rights and from merchandising.*

The Visual Arts and Architecture

Unlike the heavily subsidized performing arts and music, the visual arts are essentially commercial, in that most contemporary artists are dependent on the open market for their livelihood, and it is therefore primarily the art market thatfinances art production. Art objects - paintings, photographs, sculptures - are more (or less) than pure works of art, they are commodities. As such, they are highly dependent on the state of the economy, and even in boom years, it is not easy for artists to make ends meet. It is estimated that of the approximately 24,000 artists living and working in Germany, only 3 - 5% are able to make a living from their work.

Support for art (and to some extent for artists) does exist and comes in a variety of forms. Public institutions such as art museums receive money from the Federation if they are considered of national importance (for example, the Städelsche Art Institute in Frankfurt am Main, the Bauhaus in Dessau), and are otherwise maintained by the *Länder* or the local communities. Likewise, such art exhibitions as the five-yearly „documenta" in Kassel are jointly financed by Federation, *Land* and city as well as by self-generated income.

There are a number of grants, scholarships and prizes available to artists. Some of these are publicly-funded - the *Kunstfonds*, for example, a federally-supported fund with DM 1.7 million a year at its disposal which helps recognized artists realize more ambitious projects. Industry too plays an important role in rewarding artists with prizes, of which there are currently well over 200 (1992: 195). Nevertheless, the financial incentives involved are generally modest; most prizes are valued primarily for the recognition and exposure they bring. It is more the policy of the state to support art education and the public institutions which make art available to the public than to encourage individual artists by providing them with the material wherewithal to facilitate their creative production.

Artists need to exhibit their work; this may be through private galleries (of which there are well over 1000), but it may also be through the 225 art associations in Germany, self-styled „citizens' action committees for the visual arts." These associations, whose

membership includes individuals, groups and companies, collect yearly dues, solicit donations and receive some public support; with the money they raise, they arrange for exhibitions, shows, and other confrontations with contemporary art. The art associations compete with each other, but also cooperate through the umbrella organization *Arbeitsgemeinschaft deutscher Kunstvereine*.

Unlike other fields of culture, architecture and design receive almost no support at all from public sources. Only the education and training of future practitioners (at technical colleges, art academies and universities) is paid for by the state. Thereafter, the approximately 81,000 members of the profession (Germany has a higher percentage of architects than any other country) are essentially on their own. Some become civil servants working for a *Land* or city, but the majority end up as salaried employees or as self-employed.

Literature and Libraries

As in the case of visual artists, authors and writers are not a publicly-protected species in Germany; literature belongs primarily to the open market, and authors are dependent on demand for their work. Nevertheless, there is consensus that belletristic works which would not survive market forces should be promoted, and some public support goes towards literature with only a small potential readership. This support may be in the form of direct grants and prizes to authors; it may be in the upkeep of institutions which promote literature and encourage reading. The Federation contributes to a number of literary institutions and organizations of national significance, including the German Literature Foundation *(Deutscher Literaturfonds)* in Darmstadt, the German Library *(Deutsche Bibliothek)* in Frankfurt am Main and the Germany Academy for Language and Poetry *(Deutsche Akademie für Sprache und Dichtung)*, also in Darmstadt. On a regional level, both *Länder* and communities give some support to literary activity, the former with altogether around DM 58 million a year. The communities play an important role as prize-givers; according to the German Arts Council, there are approximately 360 prizes and grants for literature, 90 of which are awarded by cities and communities. One interesting form of literature prize is that of city-writer: an

author is invited by a community to be the official writer-in-residence for a year, for which he or she receives a place to live and a sum of money. One of the best-known such prizes is given by the Frankfurt community of Bergen-Enkheim.

In addition to awarding prizes, cities are increasingly establishing literature houses; institutions which promote literature and make it accessible to an interested public through organized readings, discussions and exhibitions. These houses serve a co-ordinating and networking function for local literary clubs and writers themselves. Occasionally they are able to offer workrooms to authors and a room for the night for those who are passing through town.

Whereas the creation and production of books is not a primary state concern, the conservation of books in libraries is of major state interest. Of the well over 25,000 libraries in Germany in 1991, more than 18,000 were public lending libraries and another around 7236 scientific libraries, most of the latter attached to universities and specialized institutes and not accessible to the general public. The scientific libraries include the federally supported supra-regional German libraries in Frankfurt am Main, Leipzig and Berlin; the vast majority of the rest are financed by the *Länder* and by the communities. The public libraries include almost 40% church-financed institutions.

Museums

There are currently over 4200 museums spread throughout Germany. This opulence dates back to the beginning of the 19th century and earlier, when the private collections belonging to the nobility and the church were supplemented by state and municipal museums open to the public and when citizens' action committees led to the founding of arts associations whose primary function was the exhibiting of contemporary art. All kinds of museums came into existence, and today, Germany has a broad range. The vast majority (almost 50%) are folklore and local history museums; just over 10% are art museums.

Around half of Germany's museums are supported by the local communities and regions. The *Länder* are responsible for

under 10%, the Federation for 0.5% - in other words, for just 17 museums. However, the Federation may be willing to help finance the purchase of items of national significance, or to contribute to special exhibitions which it considers of national importance. The remaining 40% of Germany's museums are in the hands of various associations, corporations and private societies *(Vereine/Körperschaften/private Gesellschaften)*. The church maintains a number of valuable collections, as, for example, in the diocese museums of Cologne, Mainz and Trier.

Some of the private museums are owned by companies, banks and industrial foundations; but many of the publicly-funded museums are also dependent to some extent on donations of money or objects from private sources - industry, foundations and individuals - to supplement their budgets and enhance their collections. Private help is of particular importance in the case of special exhibitions, which draw visitors and increase the popularity of a museum, but which are usually too expensive to be covered by the available public money or by the income from the sale of tickets.

Film

The German film industry can afford to be experimental and creative - and survive the fact that it has relatively little commercial success either on the domestic or on the international market - thanks to the support it receives from various state sources. In 1993, the Federation (primarily the Ministry of the Interior), the *Länder* and other publicly-funded institutions contributed around DM 200 million to the production and distribution of cultural films, as well as to movie theaters showing films of artistic value. Of the 16 *Länder*, those most involved in film-making are Bavaria, Berlin and Hamburg; these *Länder* are the most generous in their film support.

There are a number of ways in which the German film industry is subsidized. The Film Promotion Act *(Filmförderungsgesetz - FFG)* provides for financial assistance to projects which raise the quality of German films, as well as to measures which improve the structure of the film industry. Whereas it originally supported films regardless of their commercial success, it now (since 1993) links its support to the number of people

who go see the films. The *Kuratorium Deutscher Film* is a body which awards prizes to novices for their first, and in some cases also second, film, and thereby contributes greatly to the launching of young talent. The German Film Prize, which in 1991 was worth DM 5.5 million, is in fact a number of valuable prizes awarded for different categories of work; it includes the coveted Golden Bowl Award, worth DM 1 million.

Of great importance to the German film industry is the agreement first made in 1974 with the public television corporations, which provide a considerable amount of money for the co-production of films to be shown first in movie theaters and only after an interval of usually two years, on television (see below).

There are many different organizations involved in the backing of the German film industry, and very little coordination between them. This has led to the often-voiced criticism that subsidies are not sufficiently concentrated, and thus possibly wasted on too many individual projects.

Broadcasting

Germany today has what is known as a dual broadcasting system, made up of both state-controlled and commercial radio and television. This public-private mix is relatively new; it was not until the mid-1980s that commercial television was first authorized and commercial channels took to the air. Public broadcasting in West Germany has a longer tradition. Established under the guidance of the Allies after the war, it was anchored in the Basic Law to guarantee the free expression of opinion and the free dissemination of information. To this end, both radio and television were decentralized and made the responsibility of the *Länder*. The structure which emerged was - and remains - a complicated one. The first network, ARD, now consists of 11 (8 prior to unification) separate regional corporations under the auspices of individual *Länder* or groupings of *Länder* which produce some local television programs for themselves and the rest for the network. The ARD also operates third programs, which are more regional and cultural than the first program, as

well as an entire radio system, with each regional corporation controlling four or five radio stations. The second public network, ZDF, is run as a consortium of all the *Länder* and confines itself to television. Both ARD and ZDF are financed primarily through the license fee which every user household and establishment has to pay (in 1992, a total of over DM 5 billion for television and DM 3 billion for radio) but also through income from limited advertising (1992: DM 1.3 billion for television and DM 6.6 million for radio). Considerably less dependent on viewer ratings than the commercial channels (although this situation is changing as advertising revenues are increasingly lost to the private channels), the public television networks can afford to devote a greater amount (up to 50%) of their broadcasting time to information, culture and education (as opposed to Hollywood-type films, series and game shows, which make up over two-thirds of the commercial diet). Both ARD and ZDF have an interest in two other „highbrow" television channels, the French-German culture channel „ARTE" and the satellite channel 3Sat.

The non-commercial television networks have a special relationship with the German film-making industry, in that they are the biggest customer for both fiction films and documentaries. In 1974, a voluntary film/television agreement *(Film-Fernseh-Abkommen)* was first concluded (see also above) whereby ARD and ZDF guaranteed to participate in the costs of co-productions with the film industry in return for permission to broadcast the films after they had been shown in movie theaters. This agreement has been renewed several times in the meantime, although it is currently endangered by the financial plight of public broadcasting and the need for drastic cuts (in addition to an increase in license fees).

Monuments and Sites

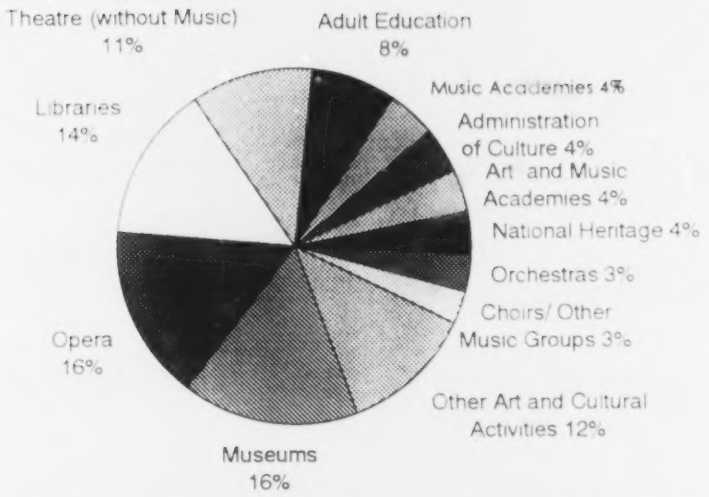
The protection of monuments and sites deemed to be of historical value (from old town centers to graveyards, churches to residential buildings, archaeological remains to gardens and parks) has assumed increasing importance in the (West) German national consciousness in

recent decades. This protection and preservation task lies primarily in the hands of the *Länder*, but the Federation plays a significant role, as do the communities, the church and a broad spectrum of public and private foundations. All in all, a large number of institutions are involved, from the federal Ministry of the Interior, to the various responsible *Länder* ministries, to the specialized departments in each *Land* and in many cities. There is a German National Committee for the Preservation of Monuments *(Deutsches National-komitee für Denkmalschutz)* which consists of representatives from all groupings of society (including trade unions and churches) and which acts as an advisory board and as a lobby promoting the maintenance of cultural heritage. The *Deutsche Stiftung Denkmalschutz* is a private foundation dedicated to helping preserve old buildings which without its financial support would not be saved.

After unification, it soon became clear to what extent the historical substance of the new Länder was endangered; cultural monuments were in an appalling state and special measures had to be taken immediately simply to prevent further deterioration. The Federation (a number of different ministries) provided extra funds on the condition that the eastern German *Länder* and communities paid a complementary contribution of between 20% and 50%, depending on the program; in 1991, the Federation share alone amounted to DM 690 million. The previous year, the entire public budget for the preservation of monuments and sites amounted to DM 424 million.

(IN-Press)

The Public Financing of Culture in the Federal Republic of Germany



Source: Forschungsstelle Kulturstatistik beim Zentrum für Kulturforschung, Bonn

Sources:

John Ardagh: **Germany and the Germans**. Penguin Books, London, 1988

Facts about Germany. Societäts-Verlag, Frankfurt, 1993

Karla Fohrbeck and Andreas Johannes Wiesand: **Private Cultural Promotion in the Federal Republic of Germany**. Inter Nationes, Bonn, 1989

Marlies Hummel and Cornelia Waldkircher: **Studien zu Kultur und Wirtschaft 2; Kulturfinanzierung in Bremen**. Ifo-Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung e.V., Munich, 1990

Im Blickpunkt: **Kultur in Deutschland**. Metzler-Poeschel, Stuttgart, 1994

Kulturelles Leben in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Inter Nationes, Bonn, 1992

Kulturförderung in gemeinsamer Verantwortung. White book of the Aktionskreis Kultur, published by the Kulturkreis der deutschen Wirtschaft in Bundesverband der Deutschen Industrie e.V. ARCult Verlagsbuchhandlung Kultur und Wissenschaft, Bonn, 1995

Knut Lennartz: **Mehr Zuschauer, mehr Geld**. In: Die Deutsche Bühne, pp 58, 59; 9/1994

Andreas Johannes Wiesand: **Kultur - Kulturförderung - Kulturwirtschaft**. An offprint from: Deutschland: Portrait einer Nation. Bertelsmann Lexikothek Verlag, Gütersloh, 1992

Zweiter Bericht zur Kulturpolitik 1993/1994: **Kulturfinanzierung in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland**. Published by the Deutschen Kulturrat, ARCult, Bonn, 1994